

High and Low Benefactives in Japanese*

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Many languages have what is usually called the applicative constructions, in which the predicate takes an extra argument under certain conditions. Pylkkänen (2002) proposes a formal analysis of two types of applicative constructions that are observed cross-linguistically. In one type, the extra argument is introduced by a functional category that takes VP. A transitive verb, for example combines with its object and then with this functional category. In the other type, the functional category that introduces the extra argument is in a lower position in the syntactic structure. The verb and its object do not form a constituent, but merge with the functional category separately. The present paper examines benefactive predicates of the form *V-te age* in Japanese, and shows that they are formed in two ways similar to Pylkkänen's (2002) analysis of applicatives in that in one case *age* merges with VP and in the other it merges with the verb and its direct object separately. Since the morpheme *age* is undoubtedly related to the lexical verb *age* 'give' and probably retains its status as a lexical category, but plays a role similar to that played by functional categories in other languages, the benefactive constructions provide us with a chance to look into how lexical categories develop a functional use, and how the division of labor is made between lexical categories and functional categories with respect to thematic role assignment. A close examination of some marginal cases of benefactives shows that the dative benefactive phrase

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bears the role of possessor, rather than the role of goal. The development of the functional use of *age* can be regarded as a shift made possible by the fact that the possessive relation can be understood either as a positional relation or as a more abstract relation between two entities. The latter notion of possession appears to be involved in certain cases of Japanese passives as well.

The two types of the benefactive predicates are illustrated in (1) and (2). In one type exemplified by (1ab), the benefactive predicate takes a dative benefactive phrase marked with *-ni*. The other type, exemplified by (2ab), does not contain a dative benefactive phrase (except for the cases where the verb preceding *age* can take a dative phrase by itself).

- (1) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni e-o kai-*te age*-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT picture-ACC draw-*te age*-PAST
 'Taro drew a picture for Hanako.'
- cf. *?Taroo-ga Hanako-ni e-o kai-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT picture-ACC draw-PAST
 'Taro drew a picture for Hanako.'
- b. (?)Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kizu-o teatesi-*te age*-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT wound-ACC treat-*te age*-PAST
 'Taro treated Hanako's wound for her.'
- cf. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kizu-o teatesi-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT wound-ACC treat-PAST
 'Taro treated Hanako's wound for her.'
- (2) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-o tasuke-*te age*-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-ACC help-*te age*-PAST
 'Taro helped Hanako (for her).'
- cf. Taroo-ga Hanako-o tasuke-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-ACC help-PAST
 'Taro helped Hanako.'
- b. (Hanako-ga komatte i-ta-node)
 Taroo-ga tatidomat-*te age*-ta.
 Taro-NOM stop walking-*te age*-PAST

- (Since Hanako was in trouble) Taro stopped for her.
cf. Taroo-ga tatidomat-ta.
Taro-NOM stop walking-PAST
'Taro stopped walking.'

In what follows, the benefactive predicates of the former type will be called low benefactives and those of the latter type will be called high benefactives.

Section 1 discusses basic properties of the high and low benefactive predicates as well as characteristics of some marginal cases. As discussed in Ohso (1983), Nakamura (1991), and Shibatani (1996), the core cases of benefactive predicates with a dative benefactive must have a direct object with a possessive relation holding between the referent of the direct object and the referent of the dative phrase. This restriction, which is not observed when the beneficiary is not expressed as a dative phrase, implies that *age* is merged with the verb and the direct object separately. It will also be shown that unlike applicatives in other languages discussed in Pylkkänen (2002), the benefactive argument need only be the possessor of the referent of the direct object and need not be its goal, at least in more permissive dialects. Section 2 presents a formal analysis of the two types of benefactives. It will be argued that the low benefactive *age* takes the verb, the direct object, and the applied argument in that order, while the high benefactive *age* takes VP. Section 3 discusses implications of the proposed analysis. According to the analysis, *age* in low benefactives merges with the transitive verb before the verb merges with its object, and *age* in high benefactives merges with VP in which the head verb has taken its complement(s). In this respect, the analysis supports the claim pursued by Saito and Hoshi (1998), Hoshi (1999), and Saito (2000) that complex predicates may be formed either before or after the constituent verbs merge with their complements, a consequence of the Minimalistic view whereby syntactic objects can be formed freely by merging two syntactic objects at a time in whatever order (as long as the result is interpretable at the

interface levels). Second, it is proposed that the possessive relation can be specified either by a lexical category or by a functional category and that this dual status of the notion of possession lies behind the development of *age* in the benefactive predicates from the main verb *age*. Before we conclude, we will examine Pytkänen's (2002) analysis of Japanese passives in the light of the cross-linguistic studies of passive constructions by Washio (1995), and discuss some similarities between low benefactives and what Washio calls 'Inclusion Passives.'

1. High and Low Benefactives

1.1. Possessive Relation between the Beneficiary and the Direct Object

As discussed in Ohso (1983), Nakamura (1991), Shibatani (1996), and Kaga (1997), low benefactives are not possible with intransitive verbs or certain cases of transitive verbs. High benefactives do not have such a restriction.

Ohso (1983) examines benefactive sentences with a dative benefactive and proposes the following condition.

- (3) A dative benefactive is possible only when a concrete or abstract entity moves to the beneficiary (along with the favor of the agent).

For instance, the following examples are unacceptable because they do not satisfy this condition.

(4) Intransitive-based benefactives:

- a. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni tosyokan-e it-*te age*-ta.

Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT library-to go-*te age*-PAST

'Taro went to the library for Hanako.'

(Ohso (1983 : 121) slightly modified)

- b. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni tatidomat-*te age*-ta.

Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT stop walking-*te age*-PAST

'Taro stopped for Hanako.'

(5) Transitive-based benefactives:

- a. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni mizutamari-o tobikoe-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT puddle-ACC jump-over-*te age*-PAST
'Taro jumped over a puddle for Hanako.'
(Kaga (1991 : 213) slightly modified)
- b. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni dezaato-o tabe-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT dessert-ACC eat-*te age*-PAST
'Taro ate the dessert for Hanako.'
(Ohso (1983 : 119) slightly modified)
- c. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni mukade-o korosi-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT centipede-ACC kill-*te age*-PAST
'Taro killed a centipede for Hanako.'
(Kaga (1997 : 213) slightly modified)

Nakamura (1991) further elaborates this condition and adds that the beneficiary need only be the intended goal (recipient) of the theme so that the transfer of the theme does not need to actually take place. He further claims that the theme for which the beneficiary is the goal must be represented by the accusative phrase, citing the following examples.

- (6) a. Rikisitati-wa onnanokotati-ni moti-o
sumo wrestlers-TOP girls-DAT rice cake-ACC
tui-*te age*-ta.
make-*te age*-PAST
'The sumo wrestlers made rice cakes for the girls.'
- b. Rikisitati-wa onnanokotati-ni motituki-o
sumo wrestlers-TOP girls-DAT making rice cake-ACC
si-*te age*-ta.
do-*te age*-PAST
'The sumo wrestlers did making rice cakes for the girls.'
- (Nakamura 1991 : 143)

The theme in (6a) is rice cakes, whereas the theme in (6b) is the act of

making rice cakes.¹

Shibatani (1996) discusses similar observations, and proposes that benefactive sentences with the dative benefactive must conform to the schema NP_1 CAUSE [NP_2 TO HAVE NP_3], where NP_1 is the subject, NP_2 is the dative and NP_3 is the accusative. He argues that this schema is responsible for the cross-linguistic lack of intransitive-based benefactives as well as for the unacceptability of transitive-based examples as in (5), where the event does not result in the possession of the theme object by the beneficiary.

Nakamura (1991) and Shibatani (1996) further point out that the occurrence of the accusative phrase is obligatory in this construction as indicated by the following contrasts.

- (7) a. Eriko-ga odot-ta.
Eriko-NOM dance-PAST
'Eriko danced.'
- b. Eriko-ga odori-o odot-ta.
Eriko-NOM dance-ACC dance-PAST
'(Lit.) Eriko danced a dance.'
- c. *?Eriko-wa Ken-ni odot-te age-ta.
Eriko-TOP Ken-DAT dance-te age-PAST
'Eriko danced for Ken.'
- d. Eriko-wa Ken-ni odori-o odot-te age-ta.
Eriko-TOP Ken-DAT dance-ACC dance-te age-PAST
'(Lit.) Eriko danced a dance for Ken.'
- (Nakamura 1991:143)
- (8) a. Nitiyoobi-wa Taroo-ga ryoori-si-ta.
Sunday-TOP Taro-NOM cook-PAST
'On Sunday, Taro cooked.'
- b. Nitiyoobi-wa Taroo-ga ryoori-o si-ta.
Sunday-TOP Taro-NOM cooking-ACC do-PAST
'(Lit.) On Sunday, Taro did cooking.'

- c. *?Nitiyoobi-wa Taroo-ga Hanako-ni ryoori-si-te age-ta.
 Sunday-TOP Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT cook-te age-PAST
 'On Sunday, Taro cooked for Hanako.'
- d. Nitiyoobi-wa Taroo-ga Hanako-ni ryoori-o
 Sunday-TOP Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT cooking-ACC
 si-te age-ta.
 do-te age-PAST
 'On Sunday, Taro did cooking for Hanako.'

While these intransitive predicates are as grammatical as, and synonymous to some extent with, the corresponding transitive predicates as shown in the (a) and (b)-examples, the intransitive-based benefactives in (c) are less acceptable than the transitive-based benefactives in (d).² When the action nominal *ryoori* 'cooking' is merged overtly with the light verb *s-*, it does not qualify as an internal argument of a verb—rather it serves as the predicate.³

High benefactives do not have the restriction observed with low benefactives. When the dative benefactive is missing, intransitive verbs may appear in *V-te age*. This is shown in (2b) above and in the following example, which contrasts with (4a)

- (9) (Hanako-ga isogasikat-ta-node)
 Taroo-ga tosyokan-e it-te age-ta.
 Taro-NOM library-to go-te age-PAST
 '(Since Hanako was busy) Taro went to the library for her.'

Also, transitive verbs whose direct object does not end up in the hand of the beneficiary may appear in this construction. Compare the following examples with (5bc) above.

- (10) a. (Hanako-ga manpuku-dat-ta-node)
 Taroo-ga dezaato-o tabe-te age-ta.
 Taro-NOM dessert-ACC eat-te age-PAST

‘(Since Hanako was full) Taro ate the dessert for her.’

b. (Hanako-ga kowagat-ta-node)

Taroo-ga mukade-o korosi-*te age*-ta.

Taro-NOM centipede-ACC kill-*te age*-PAST

‘(Since Hanako was scared) Taro killed the centipede for her.’

To sum up, benefactive predicates with the dative benefactive phrase must take a direct object which serves as a theme that is understood to be in the possession of the beneficiary upon the completion of the event described by the benefactive predicate. High benefactives do not show such restrictions. The restriction on the low benefactives shows that *age* in low benefactives takes the verb and the direct object separately. Otherwise, the restriction would have to be stipulated as an additional condition.⁴ Since high benefactives are possible regardless of the content of the verb phrase, the high benefactive *age* should take VP.

1.2. Cases of Possessive Relation without Transfer

As discussed in Nakamura (1991) and Kaga (1997), there are some cases where the beneficiary is not the goal of the theme object. Consider the following examples.

(11) a. Sono sikai-wa Eriko-ni

that dentist-TOP Eriko-DAT

ooisogide musiba-o naosi-*te age*-ta.

in a hurry decayed tooth-ACC treat-*te age*-PAST

‘The dentist treated Eriko’s decayed tooth in a hurry for her.’

(Nakamura (1991 : 150) slightly modified)

(12) a. Boku-wa Hanako-ni enpitu-o kezut-*te age*-ta.

I-TOP Hanako-DAT pencil-ACC sharpen-*te age*-PAST

‘I sharpened a pencil for Hanako.’

b. Boku-wa Hanako-ni kutu-o migai-*te age*-ta.

I-TOP Hanako-DAT shoe-ACC polish-*te age*-PAST

‘I polished Hanako’s shoes for her.’

(Kaga (1997 : 228) slightly modified)

- (13) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni konpyuuta-o naosi-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT computer-ACC fix-*te age*-PAST
'Taro fixed Hanako's computer for her.'
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni syuki-o syuppan-si-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT memoir-ACC publish-*te age*-PAST
'Taro published Hanako's memoir for her.'
- c. (?)Taroo-ga Hanako-ni musuko-o hagemasi-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT son-ACC cheer up-*te age*-PAST
'Taro cheered up Hanako's son for her.'
- d. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni syukudai-o tetudat-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT homework-ACC help-*te age*-PAST
'Taro helped Hanako with her homework for her.'
- e. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nimotu-o mot-te i-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT baggage-ACC hold-*te age*-PAST
'Taro held Hanako's baggage for her.'

The examples in (11), (12), and (13ab) contain predicates of change of state which do not imply transfer of possession, those in (13cd) contain predicates of activity, and (13e) contains a stative predicate. Native speakers judge these examples fairly good to marginally possible, but they find them clearly better than those in (5) above repeated here as (14).

- (14) a. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni mizutamari-o tobikoe-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT puddle-ACC jump-over-*te age*-PAST
'Taro jumped over a puddle for Hanako.'
- b. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni mukade-o korosi-*te age*-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT centipede-ACC kill-*te age*-PAST
'Taro killed a centipede for Hanako.'

One clear difference between (11)–(13) on the one hand and (14) on the other is that the beneficiary is understood to be the possessor of the

referent of the direct object in the former but not in the latter. Now consider the following examples.

- (15) a. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni dezaato-o tabe-*te* age-ta. (= (5b))
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT dessert-ACC eat-*te* age-PAST
 'Taro ate the dessert for Hanako.'
- b. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni konpyuuta-o
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT computer-ACC
 syobun-si-*te* age-ta.
 dispose of-*te* age-PAST
 'Taro disposed of Hanako's computer for her.'

These examples are less acceptable than (11)–(13). The beneficiary in (15) can be understood as the possessor of the referent of the direct object. However, these examples contain predicates of consumption, destruction or removal, which mean that the referent of the direct object is lost in the event, and so is the possessive relationship. Thus, it seems that low benefactives are possible when a possessive relation holds between the beneficiary and the referent of the direct object on the completion of the event.

This is in contrast with the English dative construction. As Kaga (1997) points out, verbs of transfer, creation, or acquisition allow the dative construction, but verbs of activity or change of state do not, even if the referent of the direct object belongs to the beneficiary.

- (16) a. I sent Mary a letter.
 b. I baked Mary a cake.
 c. I bought Mary a book.
- (17) a. ?*I sharpened Mary the pencil.
 b. ?*I polished Mary the shoes. (Kaga 1997: 223)

This observation indicates that the possessive relation must be newly created in the English dative construction. In Japanese low benefac-

tives, on the other hand, the possessive relation need only hold on the completion of the event, and need not be created by the event. The possessive relation is necessary, but a transfer of possession is not.⁵

If the transfer of possession is not absolutely necessary, the thematic role the dative phrase bears should not be 'goal'. That its thematic role should be captured in terms of possession rather than goal is supported by an observation on Case alternation. While a dative phrase with the goal role can be replaced by a postpositional phrase headed by *-e* without completely making the sentence unacceptable, such an alternation is not possible with the dative phrase in benefactive sentences or with the dative complement of the main verb *age* 'give'.⁶

- (18) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sono hon-o okut-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT that book-ACC send-PAST
'Taro sent Mary that book.'
- b. ?Taroo-ga Hanako-e sono hon-o okut-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-to that book-ACC send-PAST
'Taro sent that book to Mary.'
- (19) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sono hon-o watasi-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT that book-ACC hand-PAST
'Taro handed Hanako that book.'
- b. ??Taroo-ga Hanako-e sono hon-o watasi-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-to that book-ACC hand-PAST
'Taro handed the book to Hanako.'
- (20) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni e-o kai-te age-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT picture-ACC draw-te age-PAST
'Taro drew Hanako a picture.'
- b. *Taroo-ga Hanako-e e-o kai-te age-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-to picture-ACC draw-te age-PAST
'(Lit.) Taro drew a picture to Hanako.'
- (21) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sono hon-o age-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT that book-ACC give-PAST
'Taro gave Hanako that book.'

- b. *Taroo-ga Hanako-e sono hon-o *age*-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-to that book-ACC give-PAST
 'Taro gave that book to Hanako.'

Though the (b)-examples in (18) and (19) are less than grammatical, they are certainly more acceptable than the (b)-examples in (20) and (21). The latter two seem to have the same status as (22b).

- (22) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sono hon-o *mise*-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT that book-ACC show-PAST
 'Taro showed Hanako that book.'
- b. *Taroo-ga Hanako-e sono hon-o *mise*-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-to that book-ACC show-PAST
 'Taro showed that book to Hanako.'

The verb *mise* 'show' in (22) is a lexical causative, whose meaning can be characterized as *CAUSE* [*x TO SEE y*]. The dative phrase is the causee and not the goal. The low acceptability of (21b) indicates that the main verb *age* 'give' should be semantically characterized as *CAUSE* [*x TO HAVE y*] rather than *CAUSE* [*y TO GO TO x*]. The dative phrase here is not a goal.

2. Semantic Types and Word Order of Benefactives

Following Krazter (1996), we will assume that the agent role is added by a functional category outside VP, and call this functional category *Voice*. VP is of the semantic type $\langle s, t \rangle$, meaning that given an eventuality, it gives a truth value. *Voice*, which is of the semantic type $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$, combines with VP by the following rule of Event Identification.

- (23)
$$\begin{array}{ccccc} f & & g & \rightarrow & h \\ \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle & & \langle s, t \rangle & & \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \\ & & & & \lambda x \lambda e [f(x)(e) \ \& \ g(e)] \end{array}$$

x is a variable of the semantic type e (individual), and e is a variable of the semantic type s (eventuality).⁷ The syntactic object resulting from the merger of VP and Voice (namely, Voice') can take an external argument, and given further an eventuality, gives a truth value. The following example illustrates the result of merging VP and the functional category Voice which assigns the agent role.

$$\begin{array}{lll}
 (24) & f & g \quad \rightarrow \quad h \\
 & \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle & \langle s, t \rangle \quad \quad \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \\
 & \lambda x \lambda e [\text{Agent}(x)(e)] & \lambda e [g(x)(e)] \quad \quad \lambda x \lambda e [\text{Agent}(x)(e) \ \& \ g(e)]
 \end{array}$$

In the analysis presented below, *age* is introduced before Voice combines with VP in both high and low benefactives.

Assuming Kratzer's analysis of external argument, Pylkkänen (2002) proposes an analysis of the two types of applicative constructions found in several languages. One type, which is called the high applicative, involves a functional category which takes VP and an applied argument. The other type, called the low applicative, involves a functional category which combines with a direct object, an applied argument and a verb. Low applicatives are possible only with a transitive verb, and the interpretation of the sentence includes a transfer of the possession of the referent of the direct object to or from the referent of the applied argument.

By extending the analysis of low applicatives to the low benefactives in Japanese, one obtains the following semantic characterization of *age* in the low benefactive construction.⁸

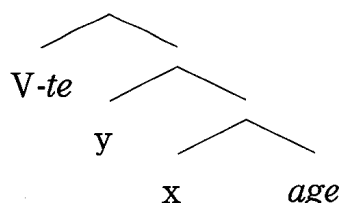
$$\begin{array}{l}
 (25) \quad \lambda x \lambda y \lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda e f(x)(e) \ \& \ \text{theme}(x)(e) \\
 \quad \quad \quad \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x)(y) \ \& \ \text{ben}(y)(e)
 \end{array}$$

This *age* takes two nominal arguments and a transitive verb, and the resulting proposition asserts that the first nominal argument (x) is interpreted as the object of the transitive verb and receives its theme

role, and that the second nominal argument (*y*) stands in the possessive relation to the first nominal argument and in the benefactive relation to the event (*e*).

While it captures the observation that the low benefactive is possible only when the verb is a transitive verb and when its object stands in the possessive relation to the beneficiary after the event, this analysis cannot render the correct word order. This is shown in the following structure, in which *age* combines with its arguments in the order specified by the analysis.

(26)



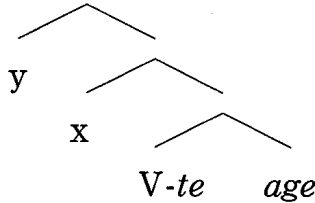
If the two nominal arguments move out of the verb phrase to have their Case checked, *V-te* and *age* will come next to each other, and follow the two nominal arguments as desired. However, this analysis predicts that a floating quantifier may stay between *V-te* and *age*, being licensed by the trace of one of the moved arguments. As the following example shows, this is not possible.⁹

- (27) *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o yon-de san-satu *age*-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC read-*te* three-CL *age*-PAST
 'Taro read three books for Hanako.'

The correct word order is obtained if *age* first combines with the verb. It is of the semantic type $\langle\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle, \langle e, \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle\rangle$ rather than of the type $\langle e, \langle e, \langle \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle$ as in Pylkkänen's (2002) analysis of low applicatives. The revised interpretation of the low benefactive *age* is given in (28), and the syntactic structure of the benefactive predicate in (29).

- (28) $\lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x \lambda y \lambda e f(x)(e) \ \& \ \text{theme}(x)(e) \ \& \ \text{to/in-the-possession}(x)(y) \ \& \ \text{ben}(y)(e)$

(29)



We have seen above that there are marginal to fairly good cases of low benefactives in which the beneficiary is not the goal to which the theme object is transferred. The beneficiary needs to be the possessor of the theme when the event is over, but the possessive relation need not be newly created. Such an extension is possible by replacing ‘to-the-possession’ with ‘in-the-possession’ in the semantic characterization in (28). Verbs of destruction and verbs of consumption do not make good low benefactive predicates because these verbs imply that the possessive relation is terminated during the event. As we have argued, these considerations suggest that the semantics of the low benefactive *age* should be characterized in terms of ‘possession’ rather than ‘goal’. With the latter possibility, the extension to the peripheral cases would not be a minor change.¹⁰

The high benefactive *age* takes VP as its complement, so that high benefactives basically allow any kind of VPs. Unlike the high applicatives discussed in Pylkkänen (2002), the applied argument is existentially bound within the semantic characterization of the derived predicate and therefore is not linked to the syntactic structure. The high benefactive *age* is of the semantic type $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$, and its semantic interpretation is given in (30).

- (30) $\lambda f_{\langle s, t \rangle} \lambda e \exists y f(e) \ \& \ \text{ben}(y)(e)$

The sentence asserts the existence of a beneficiary, but the variable

for it is already existentially bound and does not show up as a dative phrase.^{11 12 13}

To summarize, the semantic types of *age* in the high and low benefactives and that of the main verb *age* 'give' are listed in (31).

- (31) a. main verb *age*: $\langle e, \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$
 b. low benefactive *age*: $\langle \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle, \langle e, \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle$
 c. high benefactive *age*: $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$

The low benefactive *age* takes a transitive verb and produces a ditransitive verb, which is of the same semantic type as the main verb *age*. Unlike the dative complement of the main verb *age*, the benefactive phrase need not be a possessor newly created by the event described by the verb, at least in more permissive dialects. The high benefactive *age* has undergone a further change. The predicate it forms is not syntactically transitive, and while the existence of the beneficiary is implied, it does not need to be a goal or a possessor. The high benefactive *age* is more like aspectual predicates such as *simau* and *oku* as in the following examples.

- (32) a. Taroo-ga kaet-te simat-ta.
 Taro-NOM return-*te* finish-PAST
 'Taro went home unexpectedly.'
 b. Taroo-ga hey-a-o kataduke-te oi-ta.
 Taro-NOM room-ACC put in order-*te* place-PAST
 'Taro put the room in order in advance.'

It is not surprising that the two types of *V-te age* forms are of these semantic types. The semantic type of the low benefactive *age* is what is expected from the semantic type of the main verb *age* and the fact that this *age* is combined with a verb.¹⁴ The semantic type of the high benefactive *age* is a typical semantic type found with aspectual and modal predicates.

Given that the main verb *age* is semantically characterized as *CAUSE* [*x TO HAVE y*] as claimed above, the thematic characterization of the arguments of the benefactive predicates does not differ much from that of the main verb *age*. The *CAUSE* meaning is at least compatible with the semantic characterization of the benefactive predicates with verbs of creation. It is completely dropped in the marginal examples discussed above, but the possessive meaning is still retained.

3. Implications of the Proposed Analysis

3.1. Syntactic Derivation

We have seen that *age* in the low benefactive directly merges with the transitive verb, while *age* in the high benefactive merges with VP. This does not mean that the two cases are generated in different components of grammar. The mechanism by which the two cases of *V-te age* forms are generated is the same simple procedure of merging two syntactic objects together. The high benefactive *age* merges with VP, and the low benefactive *age* merges with the verb, the direct object, and the applied argument all in syntax. Saito and Hoshi (1998), Hoshi (1999), and Saito (2000) argue that in some cases complex predicates are formed before the constituent verbs merge with their complements, while in other cases complex predicates involve VP-complementation. High and low benefactives present a case where complex predicates of the same phonetic form can be syntactically derived in two different ways. This is a possibility that is expected if syntactic objects can be formed in whatever order as long as the result is interpretable at the interface levels.¹⁵

3.2. Thematic Roles

Jackendoff (1990) proposes that thematic roles fall into two tiers: a thematic tier, on which motion and location are specified, and an action tier, on which Actor-Patient relations are specified. Where there is a binding relation between two roles on different tiers, it is the one on the action tier that is linked to an argument in the syntactic structure. This

is expected if roles on the thematic tier are determined by the lexical verb and the roles on the action tier are determined by functional categories, because functional categories are higher in the syntactic representation than the lexical verb and/or take the lexical verb as an argument. If this is so, what happens to the thematic roles that *age* assigns when it develops the more functional use it has in benefactive predicates?

It has been argued above that the semantics of both benefactive predicates and the main verb *age* should be characterized in terms of ‘possession’ rather than ‘goal.’ The goal role is exclusively on the thematic tier, because it is a notion involved in motion and location. The possessive relation, on the other hand, can be specified either on the thematic tier or on the action tier. When possession is understood to be a positional relation between the possessor and the possessee, it should be represented on the thematic tier. Lexical verbs such as *possess* describe such situations. Possession, however, can also be understood to be a more abstract relationship between two entities. In the latter case, the possessive relation is not a positional relation, and need not be on the thematic tier. Such a characterization seems to be more appropriate for cases of inalienable possession for example, which is involved in cases like (13b) above. Possessive relationships can then be specified either by a lexical category or by a functional category, and that has made possible the development of the functional use of *age* from the lexical verb *age*.¹⁶

3.3. Passives

The analysis of the benefactive construction has some implications on Japanese passives. Pylkkänen (2002) analyzes Japanese passives in terms of high and low applicatives. Gapless passives as in (33a) involve a high applicative predicate, and possessor passives as in (33b) involve a low applicative.

- (33) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sinkoosyuukyoo-o hazime-rare-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT new cult-ACC start-PASS-PAST
 'Taro was adversely affected by Hanako starting a new cult.'
- b. Hanako-ga doroboo-ni yubiwa-o tor-are-ta.
 Hanako-NOM thief-DAT ring-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
 'Hanako had her ring stolen by a thief.'

Pylkkänen (2002) proposes that possessor passives contain a functional category designating a transfer of the direct object from the possession of the affectee (which shows up as the subject in the sentence). For example, the ring in (33b) is understood to be taken away from the possession of Hanako. However, there are cases of possessor passives in which the affectee is not a source from which a transfer of possession takes place.

- (34) John-ga Mary-ni kodomo-o homer-are-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-DAT child-ACC praise-PASS-PAST.
 'John was affected by his child's being praised by Mary.'
- (Washio (1995:78))

Examples like (34) should not be grouped with gapless passives as in (33 a). This is supported by Washio's (1993, 1995) analysis of Japanese passives, in which two types of passives are distinguished: Inclusion Passives, in which the referent of the derived subject is included in the event described by the predicate, and Exclusion Passives, in which the referent of the derived subject is excluded from the event. Exclusion Passives are, according to Washio, cross-linguistically very rare, and always imply adversity. Inclusion Passives, on the other hand, imply adversity only when the predicate describes an undesirable event. One way for the affectee to be included in the event described by the verb is for it to serve as the theme or patient of the verb, but that is not the only possibility. Where the affectee stands in a possessive relation with the referent of the direct object, the passive sentences exhibit the character-

istics of Inclusion Passives. For example, Washio points out that (34) does not need to carry an adversity reading if *kodomo* ‘child’ is understood to be John’s own child, and also reports that corresponding examples are also possible in other languages which do not allow Exclusion Passives. He further discusses cases of Inclusion Passives in which the derived subject is not likely to have been moved out of the direct object by possessor raising. For example, *John* in the following example is not likely to have been moved out of the direct object because the direct object is a proper noun.

- (35) John-ga Mary-ni Susan-o home-rare-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-DAT Susan-ACC praise-PASS-PAST
 ‘John was affected by Mary’s praising Susan.’

Washio points out that this example does not require the adversity reading if some pragmatic relation is assumed between John and Susan (if they are an engaged couple, for instance), but that the adversity reading is obligatory where such a relationship does not hold. Notice that such a pragmatic relation can be regarded as a possessive relation. In the above case, John has Susan as his partner. Inclusion Passives as in (34) and (35) can then be characterized as cases where the affectee stands in the possessive relationship with the referent of the direct object.

These considerations lead us to extend Pylkkänen’s (2002) analysis of possessor passives to cases of Inclusion Passives where no transfer of possession is involved, *i.e.*, cases where the affectee is not the source. The analysis of *V-te age* presented above has shown that low applicatives do not require a transfer of possession. The present discussion suggests that possessive relations without transfer also play a role in Inclusion Passives.

There is in fact a reason to suspect that an analysis along the lines Pylkkänen (2002) proposes for possessor passives is more appropriate for cases like (34) and (35) than for (33b), for which the analysis has been

originally proposed. (33b) has an alternative derivation based on a double complement construction. The evidence comes from Honma's (1995) observation that (some cases of) possessor passives allow a floating quantifier left in VP.

- (36) Gakusei-ga Ken-niyotte kooen-de go-nin atama-o tatak-are-ta.
 student-NOM Ken-by park-in five-CL head-ACC pat-PASS-PAST
 'Five students were patted on the head by Ken.' (Honma (1995 : 4))

As Honma points out, this observation supports the analysis in which the derived subject is moved not out of the direct object, but from the complement position of the verb. Honma proposes that *tatak* 'pat' can take two objects, the patient noun phrase and a noun phrase designating the body part being patted. Though it is not possible for the two objects to show up in the accusative Case because Japanese does not allow double accusatives, one of the objects, namely the patient noun phrase, can show up in the nominative when the verb is passivized. Now consider the following example.

- (37) *Hahaoya-ga Yamada-sensei-niyotte gakkoo-de san-nin kodomo-o
 mother-NOM Yamada-teacher-by school-at three-CL child-ACC
 homer-are-ta.
 praise-PASS-PAST
 'Three mothers had their children praised by Prof. Yamada at school.'

Though Honma (1995:4) cites this example as a grammatical sentence, my informants find it drastically worse than (36). The source of the difference, I propose, lies in the semantic relationship between the affectee and the event described by the verb phrase. While the affectee can be analyzed as an internal argument of the verb *tatak* in (36), the affectee in (37) is involved in the event only as the possessor of the direct object. Where the affectee bears the source role as in the following

example, floating quantifiers can be left in VP.

- (38) Kankookyaku-ga keisatu-niyotte kuukoo-de go-nin pasupooto-o
sightseers-NOM police-by airport-at five-CL passport-ACC
bossyuu-s-are-ta.
confiscate-PASS-PAST
'Five sightseers had their passports confiscated by the police at
the air port.'

Therefore, Honma's double object analysis of possessor passives can be extended to cases where the affectee assumes the role of an internal argument other than the theme or the patient. It is not appropriate, however, for cases where the affectee assumes no role in the VP except that of the possessor. Where the possessor also bears the role of source or patient, possessor passives can be derived without resorting to the applicative analysis Pylkkänen (2002) proposes, though it is conceivable that they can also be derived by the applicative analysis. Pylkkänen's (2002) analysis thus has a stronger motivation for cases of Inclusion Passives in which possessor relation without transfer holds between the affectee and the direct object.

3.4. Summary

To summarize, *age* in *V-te age* falls into two cases with *age* being of different semantic types and licensing different syntactic structures. The notion of 'possession' plays crucial roles in the semantic characterization of the low benefactive *age* as well as its development from the main verb *age* through the process of grammaticalization. The same notion seems to be involved in some cases of Japanese passives. The analysis of passives discussed here, as well as Pylkkänen's (2002) analysis, is not complete. How Case-absorption works so that the applied argument ends up as the nominative subject and why the NP-trace of the applied argument cannot license FQ remain to be seen.

Notes

1. Nakamura (1991) and Kaga (1997) also point out some good cases of *V-te age* in which the beneficiary is not likely to be the goal. These cases will be discussed below in 1.2.
2. While Namakura (1991) has * on (7c), this example, as well as (8c), seems slightly better than such examples as (4) and (5). In any case, the contrast between the (c)-examples and (d)-examples in (7) and (8) is clear.
3. We assume that (8d) contains the main verb *s-* 'do', rather than the light verb. This is supported by the contrast between (iii) and (iv) below. In (iii), the action nominal takes one internal argument within its projection and another outside, and therefore needs a light verb to assist its θ -marking. In (iv), all the arguments of the action nominal are inside its projection so that the verb need not serve as a light verb, and therefore can be the main verb *s-*.

- (i) Taroo-ga hooseki-no-naka-kara
Taro-NOM jewels-GEN-among-from
[ryoositu-no mono-no senbetu-o] si-ta.
good quality-GEN ones-GEN selection-ACC do-PAST
'Taro made a selection of jewels of good quality from among the jewels.'
- (ii) Taroo-ga [hooseki-no-naka-kara-no
Taro-NOM jewels-GEN-among-from-GEN
ryoositu-no mono-no senbetu-o] si-ta.
good quality-GEN ones-GEN selection-ACC do-PAST
- (iii) ?*Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hooseki-no-naka-kara
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT jewels-GEN-among-from
[ryoositu-no mono-no senbetu-o] si-te age-ta.
good quality-GEN ones-GEN selection-ACC do-te age-PAST
'Taro made a selection of jewels of good quality from among the jewels for Hanako.'
- (iv) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT
[hooseki-no-naka-kara-no ryoositu-no mono-no senbetu-o]
jewels-GEN-among-from-GEN good quality-GEN ones-GEN selection-ACC
si-te age-ta.
do-te age-PAST

The observation shows that the action nominal in the light verb construction does not qualify as a direct object of the low benefactive predicate, which in turn suggests that the accusative phrase in low benefactives must be an argument of the verb. The action nominal in the light verb construction is not an argument of the light verb. See Grimshaw and Mester (1988) and Saito and Hoshi (2000) on the light verb construction in Japanese.

4. Shibatani's (1996) analysis in terms of the semantic and syntactic sche-

mata is based on the same consideration. Shibatani (1996), however, does not distinguish high benefactives and low benefactives. He analyzes high benefactives simply as cases where the dative argument is not expressed by an overt phrase.

5. Shibatani (1996) and Kaga (1997) discuss the following contrast between English and Japanese.

- (i) *John opened Mary the door.

- (ii) John-ga Mary-ni doa-o ake-te age-ta.

John-NOM Mary-DAT door-ACC open-te age-PAST

‘John opened the door for/to Mary.’

While the contrast is very clear, it is not certain if it reflects a difference between English datives and Japanese low benefactives. Shibatani (1996) points out that the following example is less acceptable than (ii). The contrast is between the case where John opened the door for Mary so that she can enter the room and the case where John opened the window for Mary to let the breeze in.

- (iii) *John-ga Mary-ni mado-o ake-te age-ta.

John-NOM Mary-DAT window-ACC open-te age-PAST

‘John opened the window for Mary.’

(Shibatani (1996 : 163) slightly modified)

A similar contrast is found in cases where *ake* ‘to open’ is not accompanied by *age*, though here the better example is much less acceptable than (ii).

- (iv) ???John-ga Mary-ni doa-o ake-ta.

John-NOM Mary-DAT door-ACC open-PAST

‘John opened the door to Mary.’

- (v) *John-ga Mary-ni mado-o ake-ta.

John-NOM Mary-DAT window-ACC open-PAST

‘John opened the window for Mary.’

It is therefore more likely that (ii) corresponds to ‘John opened the door to Mary.’ than to ‘*John opened Mary the door.’

6. The verb *age* ‘raise’, to which *age* ‘give’ seems to be etymologically related, may take a goal argument marked either with *-ni* or *-e*.

- (i) Taro-ga sono hako-o ue-ni/e age-ta.

Taro-NOM that box-ACC above-to raise-PAST

‘Taro raised the box.’

The verb *age* ‘raise’ describes a motion and does not implicate the notion of possession.

7. In the present article, the italic letter *e* is used for a variable of the semantic type *s*.
8. ‘Patient’ may be more appropriate than ‘theme’ as the semantic role of the direct object of such verbs as *scold* and *praise*, but I will not go into the difference, and use ‘theme’ as a cover term for whatever role the transitive verb assigns to its direct object.
9. Where a nominal argument moves, it can leave a quantifier behind in the

position of its trace.

- (i) Suugaku-no teiri-ga nihon-no kenkyuusya-ni yotte
 mathematics-GEN theorem-NOM Japan-GEN researcher-by
 hutatu syoomei-s-are-ta.
 two prove-PASS-PAST

‘Two mathematical theorems have been proved by Japanese researchers.’

The ungrammaticality of (27) shows that the accusative phrase has not been moved from the position between *yom-* and *age*. Quantifier floating is not possible with the dative phrase in the benefactive construction.

- (ii) *Taroo-ga gakusei-ni kinoo san-nin hon-o yon-de *age*-ta.
 Taro-NOM student-DAT yesterday three-CL book-ACC read-*te* *age*-PAST
 ‘Yesterday, Taro read a book for three students.’

However, this is not relevant for the example in the text, where the quantifier is construed with the accusative object.

10. The observation that the possessive relation must be newly created in the English dative construction can be captured by Pylkkänen’s (2002) analysis in which the relation ‘to-the-possession’ holds between the theme and the beneficiary.
11. Kaga (1997) also assigns *age* in *V-te age* two different semantic types depending on whether the benefactive is in dative or is optionally expressed by an adjunct marked by *no tame-ni* ‘for the sake of’. He says that where the benefactive is an adjunct (that is, in the cases of high benefactives), *age* serves as a two-place predicate taking VP and the agent. The present analysis is similar to his analysis in this respect, apart from the assumption that the agent is introduced by a separate functional category. Where the benefactive is in dative (that is, in the cases of low benefactives), the two analyses diverge. Kaga proposes that *age* takes the dative phrase and VP headed by the first verb as its complements, and that these sentences are subject to an additional condition that a theme be assumed for which the dative phrase serves as the location. Given his analysis in which *age* takes VP as a complement, it needs to be explained why there is such an additional condition and why the event argument of the VP cannot serve as the theme, in which case basically any VP should be allowed in this construction.
12. An apparent counterargument to the claim that the low applicative *age* takes a transitive verb rather than VP comes from the observation that the verb and the object together can serve as the focus marked by *sae* ‘even’ in examples like the following.

- (i) Taroo-wa Hanako-ni kutu-o migai-*te* sae *age*-ta.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT shoe-ACC polish-*te*-even *age*-PAST
 ‘Taro even polished Hanako’s shoes for her.’

There is a reason to suspect that this is an example of the high benefactive with an extra adjunct *ni*-phrase, which is more like the *to*-phrase in “Why do you do this to me?” rather than the true benefactive. Where *sae* or other

focus markers appear after the first verb or after the *ni*-phrase, the requirement that a possessive relation hold between the *ni*-phrase and the direct object seems to be weakened. The following examples are more acceptable than (4) and (5).

- (ii) Taro-wa Hanako-ni tosyokan-e it-*te*-sae *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT library-to go-*te*-even *age*-PAST
'Taro even went to the library for Hanako.'
- (iii) Taro-wa Hanako-ni-sae kaimono-ni it-*te* *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT-even shopping-for go-*te* *age*-PAST
'Taro went shopping even for Hanako.'
- (iv) Taro-wa Hanako-ni-mo kaimono-ni it-*te* *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT-also shopping-for go-*te* *age*-PAST
'Taro went shopping also for Hanako.'
- (v) Taro-wa Hanako-ni dezaato-o tabe-*te*-sae *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT dessert-ACC eat-*te*-even *age*-PAST
'Taro even ate dessert for Hanako.'
- (vi) Taro-wa Hanako-ni-sae dezaato-o tabe-*te* *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT-even dessert-ACC eat-*te* *age*-PAST
'Taro ate dessert even for Hanako.'
- (vii) Taro-wa Hanako-ni-mo dezaato-o tabe-*te* *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT-also dessert-ACC eat-*te* *age*-PAST
'Taro ate dessert also for Hanako.'

Ohso (1983) also points out that the restriction she proposes is weakened when the *ni*-phrase is accompanied by the contrastive *-wa*. Although it is not clear why focus markers should make a difference, these observations suggest that examples like (i) are cases of high benefactives.

13. The proposed analysis predicts that the internal argument of low benefactives should have a wide scope over the negation attached to the verb. For example, while (ii) should allow both the reading *neg* > *only* and the reading *only* > *neg*, (i) should allow only the latter reading.

- (i) Taro-wa Hanako-ni karee-dake-o tukur-anai-*de* *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT curry-only-ACC make-not-*te* *age*-PAST
'Taro did not cook only curry for Hanako.'
- (ii) (Hanako-ga ki-ta.)
Taro-wa karee-dake-o tukur-anai-*de* *age*-ta.
Taro-TOP curry-only-ACC make-not-*te* *age*-PAST
'(Hanako came.) Taro did not cook only curry (for her).'

While many speakers have the predicted contrast, it is not so salient as expected, and other speakers do not get the expected contrast.

14. The present analysis of low benefactive *age* follows Shibatani (1996) in that *age* combines with the transitive verb and the direct object separately. Shibatani also points out the parallelism between the benefactive predicates and the main verb *give*.
15. The discussion here does not involve cases where a predicate assigns

θ -roles from an adjoined position as in the cases discussed in Saito and Hoshi (1998), Hoshi (1999), Saito (2000). In addition, the derivations of sentences with *V-te age* do not require a configuration for *theta*-marking created by movement.

16. Pylkkänen (2002) claims that the indirect object in English dative construction and the applicative argument in other low applicative constructions bear the role of goal or source, and represents these relations by “to-the-possession (x,y)” and “from-the-possession (x,y).” The present proposal entails that the relations represented as such should be distinguished from Goal and Source in the locative sense. The latter roles, which are usually expressed by *to* and *from*, do not involve the notion of possession, and are typically assigned by lexical verbs.

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